

## *Original Paper*

# The Anti-drug Campaign and its Successes in Gannan during the Early Period of the People's Republic of China

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### ***Abstract***

*The anti-drug campaign in Gannan in the early period of the People's Republic of China is the object of study. Using archives, local chronicles, and other materials, we analyze the reasons for the success of drug prohibition in Gannan in the early period of the People's Republic of China in a complex situation from the perspective of the relationship between the country and the society. It can be seen that the government is the leading force in the anti-drug campaign, the social elite and grassroots social organizations are the backbone simultaneously, and the people are the main force in fighting against opium and drugs. The positive interaction between the country and society is the key to the success of the anti-drug campaign in Gannan.*

### ***Keywords***

*The early period of the People's Republic of China, anti-drug campaign in Gannan, anti-drug successes*

## **1. Introduction**

Gannan is situated at the junction of Gansu, Qinghai, and Sichuan. It is inhabited by Tibetans, Hui, and Han Chinese, with Tibetans as the main ethnic group. From the mid-Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China (ROC), poppies were widely planted in parts of Gansu Province. Jifang Shang conducted a study on drug cultivation in Gannan's Tibetan areas in the ROC period, pointing out the reasons for the repeated prohibition of opium and drugs. In the early period of the People's Republic of China, opium and medicines still existed as a historical legacy, and with the counter-revolutionary sabotage activities

of more than 20 groups of bandits in the Gansu-Qinghai-Sichuan junction, such as incitement and luring. Anti-drug campaigns in Gannan faced a complicated situation. How can the Gannan government carry out the anti-drug campaign while maintaining the stability of the ethnic areas in such a situation? What was the attitude of the local community in Gannan towards the anti-drug campaign? And what are the reasons for the ultimate success of Gannan's anti-drug efforts? At present, no research on these issues has been published in the academic world. The article tries to select the anti-drug campaign in Gannan in the early period of the founding of the People's Republic of China as the object of study and reveal the reasons for the success of the anti-drug campaign in Gannan.

## **2. The Complex Background of the Anti-Drug Campaign in Gannan in the Early Years of the Founding of the People's Republic of China**

### *2.1 Causes of the Opium Problems in Gannan*

First, historical factors. The problem of drugs is a special problem left over by history from the early years of the founding of the People's Republic of China, and It has been growing opium poppies since the middle of the Qing Dynasty in the Republic of China in Gannan. Jiang Shang's "*Exploring the Reasons for Drug Cultivation in the Gannan Tibetan Area in the Republic of China*" analyses in depth the reasons for the cultivation of opium poppies, and will not dwell on them here.

Second, geographical factors. The landform of Gannan is complex and diverse, with interleaved distribution of mountains, hills, and valleys. The Mindian mountainous area in the south has a relatively mild climate; the hilly mountainous region in the east is cold and damp. However, poppies are warm and cold, and the mountain climate of Gannan is more suitable for poppy growth. Due to the deep mountain gully, inconvenient transportation, and geographical barrier, some opium cultivation is not easy to detect in the relatively hidden deep mountains and dense forests. In addition, Gannan is a gathering place for the trade of Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan, and Tibet, which also provides a convenient place for the trade of opium and illicit drugs to a certain extent.

Thirdly, practical factors. First, since the People's Government had just been established, the various policies and decrees of the prefecture had not been implemented in depth among the people. The government had not been effective in investigating and cracking down in the early years of the government's establishment, individual opium and drug traffickers had taken advantage of the situation to reap exorbitant profits. Secondly, the social foundations of the remaining counter-revolutionaries have not yet been destroyed. They use their territory and strongholds to grow and sell opium. In addition, they raise funds for their counter-revolutionary activities. They also instigated some people, using solicitation, inducement, and coercion, to oppose the decrees of the government and grow poppies privately, to provide more sources for their opium business. Finally, Article 3 of the *General Order of the Government Administration Council on the Prohibition of Opium Drug and Poison* that certain ethnic minority areas, such as those who have planted poppies, should take into account the actual local situation, adopt prudent measures, and carry out the ban on the planting of poppies step by

step slop. The implementation of the anti-drug in Gannan lagged behind that in Han Chinese-dominated areas, with some Han Chinese and Hui individuals in the surrounding mainland regions and they took speculative behavior and coming to Gannan to plant and deal with poppies and drugs.

To sum up, Gannan's special geographical location and the nationwide proliferation of opium since the mid and late Qing Dynasty, coupled with the intricate and complex situation faced by Gannan in the early years of the founding of the People's Republic of China, made the issue of opium in Gannan as important and urgent a social problem as the restoration of the national economy, agrarian reform, democratic reform, and the fight against banditry and the establishment of a political system.

## *2.2 Manifestations of the Problem of Opium and Drug Abuse in Gannan and its Social Harms*

When the Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Region was established on 1 October 1953, the poppy cultivation phenomenon was very serious in Zhuoni, Chagang, Tieba, and Xiahe's Qingshui, Shangkagai, Xiakagai, and Bora because of the weak foundation of the work of the masses and the delay in the establishment of the political system, coupled with counter-revolutionary and opium and drug traffickers and other unlawful elements who instigated, and enticed the poppy cultivation phenomenon. At the same time as the development of commercial trade, Gannan formed Zhuoni, Xiahe agricultural area planted raw poppies, processing in LinTan Old City and Xiahe County, trafficking opium "one-stop" type production and sales network, causing many people to abuse opium. The specific manifestations and social hazards of the opium and drug problems in Gannan in the early years of the founding of the People's Republic of China are as follows:

First, the large scale of poppy cultivation has affected agricultural production. In the first four years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, Gannan planted an average of more than 38,000 acres of poppies per year, accounting for 17 percent of the total cultivated area, with a total annual output of more than 15,000 kilograms of opium, which is evident in the seriousness of poppy cultivation.

Due to the influence of geography and climate, Gannan was historically a grain transfer area, but a large amount of fertile land was used for poppy cultivation, destroying agricultural production, resulting in a great reduction in grain production, more opium and less grain, and a greater impact on the daily lives of the people. Based on investigations conducted by the United Front Work Department of the Gansu Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), in 1955, the area of poppies planted in the whole state (except for Maqu) amounted to more than 30,400 acres, and each acre of land was counted according to the output of 70 kilograms in the same year, which could produce 2,126,000 kilograms of grain, and every 50 kilograms of grain could be valued at RMB 2,660,080 Yuan according to RMB 18 Yuan (the old currency, and the "Yuan" in the following text is the old currency). This grain can be used to feed 7093 people for a year and there is even a surplus.

Secondly, opium and drug trafficking are rampant, and a great deal of social wealth flows into illegal channels. As a result of the perverse opium trade that existed in Gannan before the founding of the People's Republic of China, coupled with the fact that poppy cultivation was not completely eradicated

within a short period after the founding of the People's Republic of China, there has been an increasing number of foreign traffickers, and the problem of trafficking in opium and drugs in Gannan has also become more serious. For example, the old city of Lintan was a distribution center for drugs, where opium and illicit drugs from Sichuan and Gansu converged, and a large number of people were involved in drug trafficking. For example, after the promulgation of the *General Order of the Government Administration Council on the Prohibition of Opium and Illicit Drug and Poison* in 1950, the public security organs of Lintan County, with the assistance of the people, seized several batches of large-scale drug trafficking cases.

According to the investigation of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Gansu Provincial Committee, In 1955, the founding of the People's Republic of China, authorities in Lintan, Zhoni, and Xiahe confiscated 49,478 taels of opium, 168 taels of noodles..... equivalent to a total of RMB 2,601,604 yuan per hundred pounds of grain at 18 yuan can buy 144,533,355 kg of grain, available for 24,089 people a year's.

Thirdly, the large number of opium addicts affects social harmony, stability, and development. In the early days of the founding of the People's Republic of China, drug use is higher in towns and suburbs. The inaccurate estimate of the four counties of Lintan, Zhoni, Xiahe, and Zhouqu is around 10,000 people so if each person consumes an average of 1 yuan per day, the whole year can consume 3,600,000 yuan.

The social distribution of opium and drug abusers can be seen in the example of the three temporary drug-taking cessation clinics organized in 1957 in Lintan County.

**Table 1. Summary of Drug Users Admitted to the Lintan County Drugs Taking Cessation Centre in 1957**

social hierarchy	quorum	social hierarchy	quorum	social hierarchy	quorum
poor people	53	vagabond	10	poor peasant	86
Chinese agriculture	41	small businessman	17	hawker	3
craftspeople	6	worker	2	commercial land	6
land lessor	6	freelancer	2	people who work for trade or industry	1
Tibetan non-constituent	7	landlord	13	rich peasant	7
(grand) total	260				

*Note.* There are 9 Tibetans, 21 Hui, and 230 Han Chinese.

In Table 1, from the point of view of ethnic composition, the majority of drug users are Han Chinese, followed by Hui, and the fewest are Tibetans. On the one hand, this is because Lintan is a place where Han, Hui, and Tibetan nationalities live together, with a large Han population base, and on the other

hand, it is related to the religious beliefs of the Tibetan and Hui nationalities, as both Tibetan Buddhism and Islam do not allow their followers to abuse drugs. In terms of social stratification, 57.3 percent of the population is in the lower social strata (the poor, the nomads, the poor peasants), 32.3 percent is in the middle social strata (the middle peasants, the small merchants, the hawkers, the handicraftsmen, the laborers, the businessmen, the land leasers, the freelance workers, the industrial and businessmen), 7.7 percent are in the upper social strata (the landlord, the rich peasants), and the unspecified account for 2.7 percent of the total population. The relatively large proportion of the lower and middle classes is due to the large population base of the lower and middle classes, and also to the fact that in the period from the Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China, Gannan's medical conditions were relatively weak, with a lack of medical care and medicines, and some of the people used opium as a painkiller and gradually became addicted to it.

Opium addiction has a serious impact on the physical and mental health of drug users as well as on social harmony, stability, and development. Meanwhile rural drug users, in particular, have a serious impact on agricultural production, social security, and policy implementation. First, drug users are a major factor in the decline of the rural economy, they rarely participate in labor, which directly affects their families' income and makes it difficult for rural villages in Gannan, where the mode of production is backward and the economy is based on small-scale farming. Secondly, the drug users' behavior of stealing and extortion in times of financial constraints disrupts the social order in the countryside. Finally, in times of famine, drug users relied on the government for relief instead of producing to save themselves and even spend the relief money used to build their families on drug taking. Accordingly, the key to the development of production in Gannan is how to rehabilitate drug users and organize these laborers into production to develop the rural economy.

### **3. Overview of the Anti-Drug Campaign in Gannan in the Early Years of the Founding of the People's Republic of China**

On 24 February 1950, the Central People's Government issued a *General Order of the Government Administration Council on the Prohibition of Opium and illicit drugs*; on 20 March, the People's Government of Gansu Province issued *the Notice on the Prohibition of drug Use and the Prevention of Narcotics*; and on 12 September, the Ministry of Civil Affairs of the North-West Military and Political Commission stated *the implementation of the strict prohibition of drug use and narcotics*, which demonstrated the Government's determination to protect the people's physical and mental health, to resume the development of production, and to completely eradicate the use of opium and illicit drugs. Regarding the prohibition of opium cultivation in ethnic minority areas, various documents called for the adoption of prudent measures and the systematic prohibition of opium cultivation, taking into account the actual situation in the localities. Amid the nationwide anti-drug campaign, the local government in Gannan, by the requirements of the Central Government, formed a positive interaction with the local community and ultimately achieved success in the fight against taking drugs.

The anti-drug campaign in Gannan was characterized by phases: 1950-1953 was the first phase, in which the anti-drug activities were carried out in some counties, and 1954-1958 was the second phase, in which a large-scale anti-drug campaign was launched throughout the region.

### 3.1 The Anti-Drug Activities in Selected Counties, 1950-1953

In compliance with the spirit of the circular and the bulletin, some countries immediately launched anti-drug campaigns.

We can see this in the table below:

**Table 2. Making Opium Prohibition Initiatives in Selected Counties, 1950-1953**

times	counties	making opium prohibition initiatives
1950	Xigu county	Establishment of the Counter-Narcotics Committee
	Zhuoni County	Tasks were dispatched to agricultural and pastoral areas
1951	Xigu county	The Public Security Bureau and the Civil Affairs Bureau have jointly set up taking drug cessation centers, forced druggies to undergo labor rehabilitation, implemented the policy of “no questions asked about self-extraction, but those who resisted eradication were punished”, and mobilized the public to set up making opium prohibition pacts.
1952	Zhuoni County	The establishment of a drug user center, in addition to the distribution of taking drug cessation medicines, mainly focuses on education, so that drug users understand the dangers of opium addiction and abstain automatically, and three people abstain after the study.
1953	Xigu county	Eradication of 2,055.25 acres of opium seedlings, seizure and confiscation of 1,737.3 tael of poppies and 159 pieces of taking drug equipment, sentencing of 2 opium offenders to imprisonment by the law, and cessation of holding drugs by 145 drug users.
	Lintan county	Five drug rehabilitation were established to rehabilitate drug users by phasing them into the centers; 2 phases of cessation were carried out, with a total of 120 drug users recovered.
	Xiahe County	In the process of organizing the eradication of poppy, the task members united with the upper echelons of the religious community to mobilize the masses to abstain from opium seedlings and provide relief to those who had difficulties in life after recovery.

As we can observe from Table 2, in the first phase of opium prohibition activities some counties not only brought into play the power of the state, such as setting up various opium prohibition official organizations and organizing drug cessation clinics but also began to focus on mobilizing the power of

the social elites and the people to carry out making opium prohibition work. However, we should not overlook the fact that some wrong tendencies and practices emerged at the beginning of the opium prohibition activities, Some cadres can not lift the connotation and historical characteristics of anti-drug. Therefore, they do not carry out education work and use coercive orders to mobilize families to solve problems. In this case, they do not realize that in the complex situation in Tibet, the problem of banning crops must be a long-term task. These incorrect views caused discontent and confrontation among some people. In response to this situation, the Gannan Work Committee of the CPC issued the *“Guidelines and Tasks for the Future Work of Prohibiting the Planting and Trafficking of opium in the Gannan Region”* on 27 August 1953, requesting that it be implemented by the directives of the Northwest Bureau and the Provincial Party Committee. These instructions were considered to be entirely appropriate to the actual situation in Gannan, and the counties were not to be allowed to take measures separately. Besides, the prohibition of opium in the Gannan region had to be implemented after the establishment of the Autonomous Region Government, through the vigorous appeal of powerful representatives of the upper echelons of the government to mobilize and educate the masses to raise awareness, and the people’s government had to declare its determination to prohibit the planting of poppies.

### *3.2 The Large-Scale of the Anti-Drug Campaign Campaign in 1954-1958*

Since 1950, the efforts have initially curtailed the trend of drug trafficking and sale, and the open epidemic of drugs has been greatly reduced. However, in 1954, the problem of opium in the prefecture was still very serious. *“Some of which were not planted in the past, but were planted this year. Some of which were planted less in the past, but were planted more this year. In particular, some areas disregarded the decree of the People’s Government of the Autonomous Region and refused to shovel opium, and some areas were even instigated by counter-revolutionaries and bad elements, who gathered together to eat curses, inverted manna and attempted to resist, as well as harboring poppy planting at gunpoint and resisting cadres in their work, and so on. Meanwhile, latent counter-revolutionaries continued to spread rumors and incitement, sabotaging the anti-drug campaign”*. Under this grim situation, the Gannan District Party Committee and the government decided to launch a large-scale anti-drug campaign in the whole district.

By the end of 1956, the entire region had eradicated 385,000 acres of opium poppy fields, eradicated more than 140,000 scattered seedlings, seized more than 12,000 kilograms of opium, burned 213 kilograms of opium, and seized 213 kilograms of heroin. Furthermore, Gannan had made 2,411 serious drug users give up their addiction to opium. By this time, Gannan eliminated the ugly phenomenon of cultivation, processing, trafficking, and possessing drug of opium left over from history, and won the victory of the opium prohibition campaign.

#### **4. Successful Experience in Combating Opium and Drugs in Gannan in the Early Years of the Founding of the People's Republic of China**

In the process of the anti-drug campaign in Gannan, the forces of state power and local social forces cooperated and formed a benign and interactive state-society relationship, which ultimately led to the success of the ban on opium and illicit drugs.

##### *4.1 The Country is the Leader in the Fight against Opium and Illicit Drugs*

The question of how to achieve success in combating opium and drugs in ethnic areas is historically unresolved. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the fight against opium and illicit drugs became a test for the new regime and a favorable time to establish a good social image of the CPC in dealing with social problems in ethnic areas. Firstly, the establishment of the Autonomous Prefecture in Gannan and the implementation of the "Triangular organization" regime, mobilized the upper echelons of the ethnic and religious communities to participate in the construction of the country and the regime. Secondly, the policy of "taking prudent measures and proceeding step by step" for the anti-drug campaign in ethnic areas, and the Gannan government's policy of "resolutely banning, proceeding cautiously and steadily, and gradually eradicating", allowed it to be carried out in a relatively stable and smooth manner.

The Gannan government, as a place of authority, developed the national economy and eliminated Malang and other bandits. At the same time, it implemented land reform in agricultural areas and maintained the overall situation of national unity, creating a favorable social environment for the anti-drug campaign. The process of making opium prohibition and anti-drug, no matter whether it was the cessation of drug possession, was difficult to carry out smoothly without the strong governing ability of the local government. The Gannan Government has carried out the anti-drug campaign in the following ways.

First, the establishment of special institutions to strengthen the organizational leadership made opium prohibition work. In the anti-drug campaign, the policy and organizational leadership are particularly significant during the anti-drug campaign. In the first half of 1954, the Northwest Bureau and the Gansu Provincial Party Committee of the Gannan making opium prohibition put forward a resolute ban on the species, "careful and steady progress, and gradually banned" policy. On 12 June, Gannan Autonomous Regional Government held the Gannan Government, the Consultative Committee of the second joint meeting (hereinafter referred to as the "second joint meeting"), to discuss the Gannan Autonomous Region on making opium prohibition issues, the meeting passed the establishment of the Gannan Autonomous Region People's Government making opium prohibition Committee and elected Zhengqing Huang as the Committee chairman, Zhiguo Wang and other 6 people as deputy chairman, Langji Caiba and other 52 people as members, was formally established on June 17, and issued a notice announcing that the whole area of comprehensive the anti-drug campaign. After the meeting, the counties actively mobilized the masses, mobilized the upper echelons of the ethnic and religious communities, and formed tasks to comprehensively carry out the anti-drug campaign.



Second, the country has banned poppy cultivation. As poppy cultivation was becoming more and more hidden, it was more difficult to ban poppy cultivation in Gannan. The second joint meeting called for a region-wide ban on poppy cultivation to be carried out in a prudent, steady, and orderly mode, guided by the spirit of “distinguishing between the enemy and us”.

Most of the people were able to actively abstain from opium under the leadership of the government after learning about the opium prohibition policy, but some of them held a delaying and wait-and-see attitude. Based on the difficulties and resistance encountered in the process of banning the planting of seeds, the Gannan State Government paid great attention to its working methods, taking into account the characteristics of ethnic minority areas. When cadres arrived at a village, they first convened a mass meeting and a residents’ group meeting. Villages with mixed ethnic and concentrated communities first held a general meeting to explain the purpose of coming and expose rumors. It is important to clarify the determination and strength of the policy and the ban on species. In particular, it is stated that no matter how much poppy farmers have planted, as long as they voluntarily shovel it, they will not be investigated, otherwise they will be punished according to the seriousness of the circumstances. In some places, in obtaining the head of the local officials actively agreed based on mobilization and organization of monasteries and tribal leaders to work in the countryside, some places also give the living Buddha, the local officials, and other prestigious people daily subsidies for meals 1 yuan, such as horses are also subsidized 1 yuan. In terms of methodology, on the principle of “whoever plants, whoever shovels”, the masses went into the fields and carried out inspections from the easy to the difficult, and as soon as they found poppy seedlings, they immediately eradicated them, and the work of banning planting was then developed into a mass movement.

In response to the issue of alternative food cultivation, the second Joint meeting requested that all localities should closely cooperate with relevant departments. It is important to effectively organize the masses to fight for replanting possible autumn crops, and effectively solve the difficulties that the masses must solve in seed and life. After the meeting, all regions provided relief to farming households that were experiencing difficulties in their livelihoods as a result of opium eradication., and mobilized the masses to sow late-autumn crops on the actual situation in the region, developing alternative cultivation and increasing people’s incomes.

Thirdly, the country combated opium and drug trafficking and banned the circulation of drugs. In response to the problem of opium and drug trafficking, “the Gannan Work Committee of the Communist Party of China decided in 1953 that anti-drug campaign should be strengthened and that anti-drug campaign should be organized in places such as Xiahe, Heiqiu, Qingshui and Lintan, Zuni and other new and old towns. The handling of opium and illicit drugs should still be treated differently. For those belonging to the Hui and Han ethnic groups, drugs will be confiscated and subject to local government control and education. Drug traffickers who repeatedly fail to change will not only have their drugs confiscated but will also be subject to appropriate legal punishment. Those belonging to the Hui ethnic group should be more lenient, and Tibetan traffickers should have their poppies and drugs

confiscated, be given living expenses where appropriate, and be rewarded for their achievements in anti-drug. In 1954, the Gannan government stipulated that “any Hui or Han Chinese traffickers who enter the Tibetan area shall be seized, their poppies and drugs shall be confiscated, and they shall be dealt with appropriately by the law, and the Tibetans shall only be charged for their poppies and illicit drugs, and they shall be released immediately”. *The Gannan Autonomous Region Government's Bulletin* of 1955 stipulated that all localities should organize and mobilize the necessary forces to actively carry out anti-drug campaigns, and to put a severe stop to drug manufacturers and traffickers. Unlawful elements such as drug manufacturers and opium traffickers were to be dealt with severely by the law, regardless of the seriousness of the offense. In strict accordance with the policies and instructions of the bulletin, localities have stepped up seizures and cracked down on drug manufacturers and traffickers, effectively curbing the circulation of poppies and narcotics.

Fourthly, the reform of drug users and the shrinking of the consumer market for drugs. Was significant too, with the ban on seeds, ban on trafficking and other work carried out smoothly, drug users taking the source of the drug had been curbed. In 1957, the reform policy of “*study, anti-drug, work, and placement of employment*” was implemented, and large-scale anti-drug campaigns began in the whole state. Lintan, Zhoni, Xiahe, and Zhouqu set up five drug cessation centers, sheltering 328 people.

The counties had adopted appropriate methods and achieved good results in opening drug cessation centers. Before their opening, equipment was prepared so that drug users could quit at ease as soon as they entered the centers, which were headed by the civil affairs and public security departments, and special cadres were deployed to carry out management and education work. For the admission of drug users, a general mapping and mobilization of the public to report and line up were adopted, in which the drug users were admitted only after investigation and research. After being admitted, the drug users and their families were in a state of confusion and complexity, and there was a great deal of resistance to drug cessation. In response to this situation, from the first day of the concentration of drug users, district and township cadres made several visits to the families, holding several symposiums, explaining the government's policies, and their providing relief to some families with genuine difficulties, which later gained the support of the druggies' families. In the drug users' withdrawal period, political and ideological education and labor reform were combined, while visiting, persuading, and mobilizing the druggies' families were also carried out. Meanwhile, relief and assistance were provided to families with difficulty solving their living problems, thus on the one hand relieving the drug users of the ideological burden of cessation, and on the other hand reinforcing the drug users' confidence in abstaining from their addiction through persuasion by their family members.

#### *4.2 Social Elites and Grass-Roots Social Organisations are the Backbones of the Anti-Drug Effort*

As Duzanchi said: "When state power reaches out to the countryside and implements the New Deal, it especially needs the close cooperation of the village elites. When state power attempts to restore the social order destroyed by the war from the top to the down, especially in strengthening control and implementing modernization initiatives, it is even more indispensable for it to have the support of the

village elites”, and the village elites are an important link between the state power and the village community. Gannan is a Tibetan-inhabited area, and the social status and prestige of the social elites such as the native officials, headmen, and living Buddhas are very high. They play the leading role of their leaders, actively cooperating with the government’s opium prohibition policy to educate and mobilize the masses to eradicate and quit taking illicit drugs. In addition, mass-making opium prohibition organizations and grass-roots social organizations such as agricultural co-operatives also played an active role in monitoring the eradication and withdrawal of drugs by the masses.

First, the upper echelons of the ethnic and religious communities played a leading role as social elites.

At the beginning of the drug ban, a small number of local officials, headmen, and living Buddhas did not understand the national opium prohibition policy and were not very supportive of the ban. For example, in 1954, some headmen in Luqu Xicang had concerns that their positive behavior and leading the way in eradicating poppies would cause dissatisfaction among the masses and loss of prestige, and they were even afraid that their lives would be in danger. From this, we can find the dilemma of some of the social elites as “intermediaries” connecting the local government and the people: if they support the ban on taking drugs, they may lose their prestige as leaders, but if they harbor the growing of poppies, they will go against the general trend of the national drug prohibition campaign.

Despite these difficulties, with the patient persuasion and explanation of the task, most of the Tukongs, chiefs, living Buddhas and other social elites played their leadership role and actively participated in making opium prohibition work. Such as:

In 1954, Gudrang Living Buddha of Luqu County went to the countryside and persuaded thirteen families to shovel more than thirty acres of poppy seedlings.

In 1955, the work of eradicating drugs in Dalagou in the Lower Diedi of Zhoni County was carried out with the specific participation of the chiefs of Wangzang, Aze, and Ni’ao. Accordingly, the work in most of the villages in Dalagou progressed quickly, resistance was greatly reduced, and the eradication of poppies was accomplished.

Zhuoni District press Zi Gou flag Gao Chao Jiu chief, since 1952 for actively supporting and assisting the government to shovel drugs and received awards, so making opium prohibition work more and more active and responsible. For instance, in the spring of 1958, before the planting of the masses, he convened a meeting to set up a making opium prohibition system, so no one in the area under his jurisdiction dared to blatantly go to planting poppies. Another example is Zhe Yi, the head of the Tieba Flag in Zigang District, who led the masses to the deep forests to pull out seedlings in the wind and rain and expressed his attitude to the masses that he would do it in such a way that not a single seedling would be left behind.

In the course of their work, these upper echelons propagated the idea that opium and drugs are neither favorable to the country nor the people, nor to the development of agricultural production, and religion. Led by these social elites, various grass-roots organizations, and the people also actively supported the opium prohibition campaign.

Secondly, civil society and grassroots organizations promote the further implementation of the making of opium prohibition efforts.

In the early days of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the organization of society in rural China was realized through the integration of the peasantry into political grassroots mass organizations and economic mutual aid and cooperation organizations, with agricultural mutual aid and cooperation being the most important form of social organization in rural areas. In the course of the Gannan anti-drug campaign, some counties mobilized and inspired drug users to enter drug cessation clinics on their initiative by the townships or agricultural societies in preparation for quitting the addiction and consolidating the results. In some counties, mass opium prohibition organizations also emerged, and in some grasshopper villages, people made opium prohibition pacts, and some of them also made a promise not to grow poppies in the future.

It is the monitoring role of civil society organizations and grassroots organizations that had led some people to stop cultivating poppies, while many druggies have eventually kicked the habit.

#### *4.3 The People are the Main Force in the Fight against Opium and Illicit Drugs*

Since poppies were cultivated in Gannan from the Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China, and many growers used it as their main source of livelihood, the making of the anti-drug efforts could only be successful if they gained the understanding and support of the masses. In the early days of the anti-drug campaign, some people held a delayed attitude towards the government's work. Not only that, they ignored the policies they promoted at the meeting. Some people did not attend the meeting, and some even questioned the cadres at the meeting in an attempt to delay time to achieve the purpose of harvesting. However, with the propaganda of the government's policies on the opium prohibition campaign, the masses of the people turned from a lack of understanding of making opium prohibition work, and from opposing to supporting it, and actively participated in the campaign finally. They actively participated in the opium prohibition campaign and began to consciously and voluntarily eradicate and quit taking drugs, becoming the main force behind the anti-drug effort.

With the promotion of the anti-drug policy, in 1955, many people in Zhuoni realized that poppy cultivation was against the policy, and people in Zhouqu County also realized that poppy cultivation was against the law. Mass understanding and support for the government's opium prohibition policy began to actively and automatically eradicate poppies. For example, after listening to the propaganda of the cadres, the people of Zhuoni especially supported the government's anti-drug policy, not only pulling out the poppy seedlings from their land but also often persuading others not to plant poppies.

In the opium prohibition process, many of the people who benefited from the ban expressed their love for the new people's power. For example, Cui, a drug user in Lintan County, said, "In the old society, we could not quit taking drugs, but in the new society, the government has set up drugs taking cessation clinics to make us strong laborers and rebuild our lives, and we can never forget the kindness of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao". It was with the understanding and support of the people that the Gannan-making opium prohibition campaign eventually developed into a mass-making opium

prohibition movement.

## 5. Conclusion

The anti-drug campaign is a national and social participation. The success of drug control cannot be achieved without national leadership. Grassroots social organizations and the participation of the masses have played a huge role. The success of the anti-drug campaign in Gannan is the result of effective interaction between the country and society.

In the early days of the founding of the People's Republic of China, with the gradual strengthening of the state and the building of grass-roots power, the anti-drug campaign had strong leadership. The local government in Gannan actively cooperated with the upper echelons of the ethnic and religious communities, played the role of their leaders, and mobilized the general public to actively participate in anti-drug campaigns. Therefore, it formed a positive interaction between the State and society ultimately making the anti-drug campaign a success. In contrast, in the contemporary era, in the process of globalization, while strengthening international cooperation in the fight against drugs, the fight against drugs in ethnic areas must be led by a strong state power, while giving full play to the role of spiritual leadership of the upper echelons of the religious community, and mobilizing the general public to actively participate in the drug prohibition cause. Only through the formation of a positive interactive relationship between the state, society, and individuals could the social harm of drugs be reduced and a clean sky be created for human beings.

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